1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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179 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands
[563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually
[622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At
[793] the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekará*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the
179 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are
721 now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1860, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last [411] decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. 622 648 About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and [177] Gen. José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or [624] no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moss, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

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Cabecar

people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənʃtswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənʃtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

Kinship Terminology. Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[122] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[123] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[124] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.